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ABSTRACT

The present document presents an account of the development of higher education in Africa up to 1970. It considers the idea of the university in Africa; the metropolitan form of the university with emphasis on the economic aspects, the growth and influence on urban life, and the politics of university formation; the university in its traditional form including sections on the expatriate staff, student entrance, and the university impact on secondary and primary education; the modern sector, including sections on the university and unemployment, the university and a system of education, and informal education; experiment and innovation within the university in the fields of agriculture, teacher education, social science, research, African studies, and research; and the relationship between the university and government. (HS)

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THE EMERGENT AFRICAN UNIVERSITY: AN INTERPRETATION

by

C. W. de Kiewiet

OVERSEAS LIAISON COMMITTEE

C. W. de Kiewiet, chairman of the Overseas Liaison Committee since its early days, has been intimately involved in the development of institutions of higher education in Africa, from the first steps leading to creation of many universities, through the developments of the 1960's. He formerly served on the Council of the University of East Africa, and is presently a member of the Council of the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. This paper therefore reflects his direct experience and observations on the course of higher education in Africa. It is intended to serve as useful background for those whose efforts will be devoted to the planning and execution of institutional development in Africa during the 1970's.

Under the aegis of the American Council on Education, the Overseas Liaison Committee serves as an independent, academic link between leaders of higher education in the United States and those in emergent countries. Members of the Committee are prominent American educators with experience overseas.

The Committee's primary concern is the contribution higher education can make to economic and human resource development. Its focus over the past ten years has expanded from universities and colleges to a wider range of postsecondary institutions in Africa and more recently in some countries of the Pacific and Caribbean.

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INTRODUCTION

This account of the development of higher education up to 1970 has several points of departure. The end of the sixties sees the educational systems of most African countries, and the university system in particular, under the most intense scrutiny. There is a rising demand for reform and adjustment. At issue are serious questions of cost, of the relevance of educational institutions to the economic and social development of new countries, of the weight of metropolitan influence and tradition upon the nature of the educational system, of serious imbalances and areas of neglect which exist to the disadvantage of the national welfare.

The end of the decade and the task of preparing for the future are given special significance by the circumstance that leadership and administration of most anglophone African universities are now substantially in the hands of Africans.[1] The proportion of African intellectuals on the teaching staffs has risen appreciably. Within governments experience in educational matters has advanced competence and understanding. In various ways African academic and political leaders are engaged in examining the past, the present and the future of their systems of education. Whatever may be the differences of emphasis, or opinion, or even policy, it is clear that Africans are now asking questions that were not asked when university institutions were established in their societies, and are devising answers that were not then provided, or were not available a generation earlier.

In the same manner that all of the formative years up to 1970 were required to produce a first cadre of African academics and expert officials, capable of plotting a course of education, so were the same years required to educate, or to

[1] This remark cannot be applied with the same force to the francophone universities, where metropolitan influence is more direct, sustained and purposeful.

re-educate, a group of international experts who could deal with Africa as it really was, rather than as it existed in imagination or hope. Until fresh discernment was generated in minds that had lived with the problems of independence, it was not possible to begin the assessment of the institutions that came with independence.

At the end of the sixties higher education is engaged in a process of disengagement from its past, or more positively, in a search for an institutional identity, with a pattern and objectives in accord with the realities of Africa, ethnic, historical, geographical and economic. The political observer will recognize that almost exactly the same comment can be made of the political and constitutional arrangements that accompanied independence. In the midst of turbulence and repudiation, in the presence even of arbitrariness and passion, there is nonetheless a search for political form and national identity. In academic as well as political development the progressive accumulation of change and adjustment will produce institutions more clearly attuned to their own environment in the fullest and most varied sense of the term.

THE IDEA OF THE UNIVERSITY

Even though it is premature to speak of an African university, the period that ends with the sixties is remarkable for two things. The first is the resolute establishment of the idea of the university in the African countries. Of this accomplishment history will speak with approval. This generation can still, on its own living memory, measure the great distance between that major part of the continent that had no universities, and the independent countries that now have them. Even though the actual form given to the university is today the object of much warranted criticism, it gave the phenomenon of the university a dignity, a force and a momentum that raised it swiftly to an elevation in a young and unformed society, difficult to match in the metropolitan world. In spite of the

dissatisfaction and controversy that surround them, they stand today immediately after the institution of government itself, as an assemblage of trained minds, and an instrument for giving strength, content and direction to national life. In a young country seeking growth the two principal agencies of transformation and modernization are the competences and responsibilities assembled and directed under the aegis of government, and the competences and responsibilities assembled and directed under the aegis of the university. The form of this sentence does not carry the implication that these competences and responsibilities can be exercised in isolation or in separateness from each other. For reasons that will become more plain in later comments, the indispensable character of the university as a national institution is enhanced, not diminished, by having to find a special modus vivendi with government as a partner in development.

For these and other reasons the nature and the performance of the university are constantly subject to a close scrutiny. A single institution in a single country, or even a small handful as in Nigeria, the Congo or Ghana, stand in the public view in a manner unknown in societies endowed with a greater number of universities. They are also less able to escape criticism and controversy.

The two accomplishments of launching the idea of the university and of affirming its special position amongst the institutions of a society in the course of formation, had in the course of time to be followed by the recognition that an African university could not endure or prosper with a form, a content and a purpose contributed from without Africa itself. This comment is based on the proposition that the idea of the university requires, and indeed inevitably will undergo, translation into an idiom drawn out of the stuff of African life and experience. Life includes the full cultural and physical patrimony of Africa. Experience is the effort and the struggle to use that partimony as the material of human progress and enrichment. A discussion of university performance would fall short of its most

useful purpose if it were merely the enumeration of items of achievement or in-achievement, or the drawing up of a premature score sheet. The effort is to give some interpretative account of the movement of African universities, of their sponsors and their critics, in exploring a role in their own environment.

Given the fact that universities, and more broadly, systems of higher education, are in a process of emergence and transformation, it is necessary to understand the form in which they were first established, the background of those who established them, the assumptions which they made, and their understanding of the continent in which they were set down. Some historical perspective is especially valuable at a moment when most observers of African political and educational affairs have the most intense preoccupation with present manifestations, and with the most immediate facts and figures. At this moment it is necessary to give more prominence to first ideas, first decisions, and first formulations than will be called for in a later generation.

THE METROPOLITAN FORM OF THE UNIVERSITY

When the first international conference on the development of higher education in Africa was held in Tananarive in 1962, the first universities were in substantial existence, and a second series was moving actively forward. Yet the first item identified by the conference in a list defining the proper role of the new universities in Africa was "to maintain adherence and loyalty to world academic standards." The entire list of items is still beyond reproach. That the leading item could be given such prominence relatively so late in the period of university formation provides a text, and reinforces the estimate of the importance of the influence of the university in its metropolitan and traditional form.

In the establishment of universities in Africa the first and most basic decision was that the new universities should be based upon metropolitan models. Thus Abidjan and Dakar were created as essentially French universities. Not merely were

they integrally a part of the French university system, but they contained a large percentage of students from France itself. This fact goes far to explain the influence of patterns and objectives drawn from the French metropolis. The French insistence on setting up a limited number of "regional" institutions, has two major explanations. The first is based upon efficiency and economy. The second is based upon the proposition that correspondence between the best in Africa and the best in France depended upon concentrating on a few institutions rather than on many.

The first universities in Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda were modeled after the British pattern.[1] They were a free translation, not literal as in the French case. These decisions may be regarded as the natural exercise of national preferences. There are however two further explanations that have a bearing on subsequent development. The first was the conviction, especially strongly held in British academic circles, that there was no successful model of higher education in developing countries to which they could turn for inspiration. The second explanation is more meaningful. It was the conviction that the university at its best was an international institution. On the topmost levels of excellence institutions were marked more by their similarities than by their differences. Since the British and French universities were regarded as examplars of the best international institutions, their use as models for the new institutions followed logically. The same academic logic was applied by the Belgians in the Congo.

It has been overlooked that the metropolitan pioneers of university development in Africa came from institutions that had never given an important place in

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[1]The effort to do justice to the most notable differences between British and French universities would inordinately extend this interpretative essay. French policy was throughout more planful in stressing education at all levels as a means of giving the African mind the fullest possible content and the widest possible context of French culture. This gave French metropolitan influence an exclusive character to which the British metropolis never aspired. The most useful publication on universities formed after the British pattern is still Eric Ashby's: Universities: British, Indian, African. Harvard University Press, 1966.

their scholarship and teaching to the affairs of Africa. The academic distaste for colonial rule was expressed by ignoring it. The trained academic minds in the United Kingdom or France had been given no body of knowledge on the basis of which they could see the problems of university formation in Africa in other than their own terms. The first institutions were not founded in a ferment of new ideas, nor influenced by a dynamic thrust of controversial propositions on new universities in new societies. The claim cannot be advanced that the first generation of planners and advisers were men of radical views, or pressed by innovative ideas, appropriate to the momentous fact that empires had come to an end, and that emancipation was launching millions of men into the most revolutionary period of their history. Those who went forth to man the universities, once they had been planned, came with too little wealth of objective scholarship dealing with the history, ethnology, or the economics of the land which they came to serve, too little range in analysis and debate to give fresh content and substance to the institutions which they were to build. The dependence both on the level of planning and implementation was unavoidably great on the knowledge and experience that came from the colonial civil service. It has been said that the revolution represented by independence was put into the hands of the ancien régime that preceded it. That the new independent political administrations were profoundly influenced by men intellectually and administratively formed in the context of colonial rule is a well-established fact. Not so well known is the fact that they were a reservoir of experience and attitudes on which the first academic planners and appointments had no alternative but to place heavy reliance. Between the new independent capitals and the metropolis a powerful axis of influence and communication was established. From the beginning metropolitan officials had a seat and a voice in academic councils that greatly facilitated university development but also decisively influenced it in favor of

metropolitan political and cultural interests and patterns.[1] Until native African officials had become more acquainted with the affairs of universities, most essential discussions on university matters took place in an enclave of metropolitan academics and officials, and of expatriate academics and officials. Of no single university in being at the end of the sixties could it be said that its planners were predominantly Africans. Even those institutions like Zambia and Malawi which were proposed as novel adjustments to the African environment were basically expatriate formulations.

The Economics of Euphoria

The resoluteness and dedication of the first relay of academic planners and advisors were prompted by the conviction that political independence must be accompanied by university education as itself the most powerful source of emancipation and advancement. Hence most African countries plunged into educational expansion as a precursor of economic expansion. The exuberance that went into university formation was itself part of a wider optimism about the prospects of African economic development. It is noteworthy that most of the decisions to add to the number of universities and to encourage their expansion were made at an early time when confidence and optimism were still great. The building of ports, airports, public utilities equally reinforced the feeling that western concepts and techniques would prove to be effective agents of modernization and productivity. African backwardness and underdevelopment could appear superficially as very

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[1]Even when pressure for innovation and adjustment developed, the "old hands" persisted in their views and habits. It was a prominent French official who inveighed against "these former colonial education administrators, presently serving as advisors in sub-Saharan Africa (who) are resisting attempts...to develop special educational strategies...these traditionalists, supporters of high standards are unaware of, or unconcerned about, the need to relate human resource development to manpower requirements and cultural realities." Rapport d'Activité 1961-63, Direction de la Coopération Culturelle et Technique du Ministère de la Coopération. p. 45.

largely a lack of those solutions that had already been devised and applied in modern societies. It was an expression of the confidence of modern industrial societies in the power of their own science, technology and managerial skills to bring about progress. There seemed to be a wealth of contemporary experience which tended to reinforce the view that it was possible to eliminate or overstep the long period of transformation in Europe and America. Thus it was, most significantly as it proved to be later on, that educators and even economists misread their own history and ignored the long period of rural transformation in England and France and America which actually laid the basis for the modern industrial revolution. The success of Soviet Russia in war had been or seemed to be a spectacular measure of industry leapfrogging across a more laggard rural economy. The pattern of post-war Israel also seemed a convincing demonstration of swift success in establishing modern science and technology in an underdeveloped setting. For that matter even in Africa there were oases of advancement fed principally by mining ventures which seemed to carry the same meaning.

In the context of the immediate present, packed as it was with change and opportunity, it seemed obvious that the university could not fail to play a significant role by yielding a rich return for the investment in it. In other words universities should be developed as fast and as far as possible because of the inevitable demand from a society itself undergoing modernization for a great variety of skills. Universities might therefore assume a continuing process of growth according to the logic of their conception. Such growth implied considerable range and ambition.

These assumptions had some basis in fact. As African officials moved into the seats of their metropolitan predecessors, the faith in a wide area of employment seemed justified. Indeed some of the university contribution was rapid and important. Yet the most liberal interpretation of these statistics shows that the

universities in their first form were devised for a society that did not yet exist, and did not actually come into being. There was consequently a failure to distinquish effectively and practically between the role of a university in an affluent and highly diversified society as contrasted with the role of a university in a less developed society. In advanced metropolitan countries the university does not normally need a precise chart of job market and developmental needs. There can be a broad assumption that the product of the university will find its way into employment. The result was that, in the transfer of this assumption to African countries, the scrutiny of the curriculum, the consideration of a stricter adaptation to the needs of the economy were in the foundation years superficial and conventional.

Growth and Influence

The zeal of those who devoted their energies to the founding of universities, the eager international interest in an esteemed instrument of education, focused qualities of mind and resources upon the university that gave it a prominence and assured it an advancement beyond anything possible in the rest of African education. The university, whether represented in a single institution or, as in Nigeria, in a number of institutions, constitutes a target more clear, compact and attainable than other targets in secondary education or primary education. The relative ease with which a conventional university could be established explains a number of important phenomena. The university gained an immediate distinctiveness and stature that set it off against the rest of the educational system.[1] Its spokesmanship and

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[1]The physical appearance of many of the Universities is a first manifestation of the strength of their support. The French were particularly generous in providing capital for buildings. And in Ghana, until 1967, more than 50% of all capital outlay to education went to the universities.

appeal were direct, eminent and concentrated. Eminence and singleness and centrality on top of the educational pyramid. This explains why the university was able to command so considerable a share of the resources that could be devoted to education.

The speed and the sense of conviction with which the first universities were set up helped to explain the impact of the university in its traditional form, and to explain also the conventional influences of which it remained a powerful vehicle throughout the period under review. The cadres of planners and the consortium of international donors thought and acted in a span of time that encouraged early consummation, quick measurements of success, and spasmodic movement from one objective to another. In establishing institutions that by nature are timeless the goal was the greatest attainable achievement in the greatest compression of time. One cannot measure the task of a coming generation obviously called upon to refashion the university without measuring also the energy, the intensity and the pace of the formative years.

Behind the universities as they were first founded was ranged the emphatic endorsement of the first African political leadership. The names of Tom Mboya, Azikiwe and Léopold Senghor are but three names amongst many who supported university formation with an intense fervor. Within a year of his tragic death Tom Mboya still repudiated totally the suggestion that universities might produce more graduates than society could profitably employ. Nnamdi Azikiwe pursued the objective of a university for his own Eastern Region in Nigeria with such single-minded passion that he swept aside the qualms of British academics, overwhelmed the will of Washington officials, and dragooned an American university into an immediate and active sponsorship of his design. It is important also to recall that French and British universities had trained some of the most prominent African leaders. They were spokesmen not merely of the idea of the university, but of the metropolitan form in

which it was offered to their countries. The phenomenon of political support was significant from the beginning and throughout the first period of development. Even with the emergence of controversy the issue was never the existence of the university, but rather its form and its function In Nigeria, Ghana, East Africa, and the Congo illustrations can readily be found of the manner in which the recommendations of the metropolitan academic community were raised to a still more ambitious level by Africans themselves. In the first vigorous years both metropolitan and African opinion that was focused upon the university acted in the belief that the university was not out of touch with its environment but merely ahead of it.

The enthusiasm for the idea of the university, and the assurance of its usefulness, favored a rapid growth in the number of institutions. For the anglophone countries there were few exceptions to the rule that any powerful and self-conscious political grouping will press for a university responsive to its own constituency. In this sense the creation of a university is an expression of nationalism, or of political power and influence within a nation. Thus it was that the bold recommendation of the Ashby Commission of four universities for populous Nigeria promptly was raised to five by the insistance of the Yoruba Western Region on its own institution at Ife. Had it not been for the civil war it is certain that a sixth and possibly even a seventh would have been established. With the emergence of new political groupings after the civil war, this possibility is becoming a fact at Benin and Port Harcourt. Even then the end of university formation in Nigeria may not be in sight.

Three universities in Ghana, with a population of one sixth of that of Nigeria, two universities in Sierra Leone, with a fraction of the population of Ghana, are further illustrations of the rule of the correspondence between university formation and the ability to exercise political power. In the Congo religious

differences were an additional factor in explaining the creation of three universities. The signs are becoming increasingly clear that the régime of regional universities in francophone Africa will yield to a régime of national universities. It seems likely indeed that four institutions of university calibre will be created at Niamey in Niger, at Ouagadougou in Upper Volta, at Lomé in Togo and at Porto Novo in Dahomey. This trend is in response to the facts of political independence, to the need of further disengagement from the constraints of metropolitan standards, and, more positively to the demands of more flexible and diverse adaptation to local circumstances. If this trend becomes effective, it is obvious that the experience of the anglophone universities becomes especially meaningful for the new francophone institutions. The question naturally arises whether a francophone system of national universities will follow the less controlled pattern of development of the anglophone institutions, or be able to institute a pattern of control and of integration between their national institutions. On this account yet another phenomenon of university multiplication and expansion must be described.

With the clear exception of metropolitan France there was no tribunal, effective and honored, to pass judgment on the twin phenomena of university multiplication and institutional expansion. The lack of any close regulation encouraged ambition and permissiveness. At the Tananarive Conference in 1962, pronouncements on the wisdom of limiting the number of universities, on economies of operation and scale, were clear and explicit. They went largely unheard. Academic zeal and political pride in universities frowned upon any effort, even by donors, in favor of limitation in selective development. Once established, an individual university was reluctant to accept any delay in its expansion, or secondariness in its status. The glamor of the institution of earliest foundation became beacons for their successors. Thus Lyon explains the first competitive flash of growth at Kamasi. Ibadan set a standard that none of the Nigerian universities could leave out of

their sights as they proceeded with their development. The condition in most new independent countries in the beginning was such that no body of experienced and competent citizens could be formed to consider the relationship between university and the national interest. The Nigerian Universities Commission could carry out its role of coordination only to a limited degree. Without sufficient statutory powers or adequate prestige, it could not prevail with any firmness against the thrust of individual institutions, each drawing upon its special constituency of local and international supporters. In spite of international representation on university councils there is little evidence that councils penetrated very deeply or successfully into the area of planning and coordination on a national or regional basis. The central administration and council of the federal university of East Africa provide an illustration. The existence of Makerere in a position of prideful advancement was both an irritant and a stimulant to its fledgling partners in the University of East Africa. As a federal institution the University of East Africa was designed to secure an effective and economical distribution of specialized disciplines amongst the three constituent colleges at Kampala, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. History will record the failure of the University of East Africa as the natural outcome of separatist-nationalist forces. The degree of truth in this statement obscures the original and deeper causes of the university's collapse. The federal institution was given only limited powers of central coordination, and under pressure failed to exercise those which it had. While the three constituent colleges were still predominately expatriate enclaves they engaged in a struggle for resources and in a race for development that set them inescapably on the path to separation. Of the Congo little needs to be added beyond the comment that the existence of the Interuniversity Consultative Commission does not seem to have produced a notable degree of planfulness between the three universities.

There existed what, not disparagingly, may be called the international university lobby. The availability of funds was a principal cause of its influence. But of at least equal importance were the presence of official missions, the increasing coming and going of study groups, the numerous international conferences. Each in its own way was both an endorsement of growth and a promotion of thought and prescription from the international university community. In spite of a growing recognition of the claims of an African environment upon the university, a paramount phenomenon of the sixties was that by far most of the thought, comment and prescription, even on change and adjustment, came from outside Africa itself. Africanization of staffs made important progress, yet most of this staff came through the pipe line that had passed through metropolitan universities. Of the total output of university graduates reported for Ghana between 1961 and 1968 almost exactly one-half came from overseas universities. That Nigerian universities by 1967 had achieved 54 percent Nigerianization of staff does not support the proposition that the balance of thought had become local in temper and persuasion. (See Table 1 on p. 14a)

These factors all served to force the pace of expenditure, and to blunt the voice of fiscal criticism as pinch-fisted misunderstanding of the cause represented by the university. Circumstances favored the natural ambition of any university to grow into the most adequate relationship with the world of knowledge, with the activity of transmitting knowledge, and with the charge of creating new knowledge through research and analysis. Universities in America, the United Kingdom and, more belatedly, in France were engaged in the most phenomenal expansion of their far longer history. The expansion of enrollments and equipment, the addition of new fields of learning, the great upward thrust of research, graduate education and professional training kept before the eyes of the young African universities spectacular patterns and directions of university development. New urgencies were

TABLE 1. AFRICANIZATION OF STAFF IN SELECTED AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

FULL-TIME TEACHING STAFF

Country	Institutions	Total 1960-61	African 1960-61	% African 1960-61	Total 1968-69	African 1968-69	% African 1968-69	% Increase in African Staff 1960-61 to 1968-69
Cameroon	Federal University of Cameroon	13[1]	2[1]	15.4[1]	154	62	40.3	24.9
Ethiopa	Haile Sellassie I University	182[1]	62[1]	34[1]	600	300	50.0	16
Ghana	University of Ghana, Legon	175	34	19.4	340	74	25.7	6.3
Ivory Coast	University of Abidjan	27[1]	5[1]	18.5[1]	153	17	11.7	-7.4
Kenya	Nairobi University College	60	4	6.7	115	32	27.8	21.1
Lesotho	U.B.L.S., Roma	38[1]	5[1]	13.2[1]	61	11	18.1	4.9
Madagascar	University of Madagascar	...	...	...	221	52	23.5	...
Nigeria	University of Ibadan	205	57	28.8	536	380	71	43.2
Senegal	University of Dakar	...	...	...	230	110	48	...
Sierra Leone	Fourah Bay College	65	16	24.6	120	75	62.5	37.9

1 - 1961-62 Academic Year.

TABLE 1. AFRICANIZATION OF STAFF IN SELECTED AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

FULL-TIME TEACHING STAFF

Country	Institutions	Total 1960-61	African 1960-61	% African 1960-61	Total 1968-69	African 1968-69	% African 1968-69	% Increase in African Staff 1960-61 to 1968-69
Uganda	Makerere University College	136	14	10.3	300	100	33.3	23.0
11 institutions 1961 and 26 institutions, 1968		1238	263	21.1	5014	2240	44.7	23.6
Unesco 1961-62 Survey and 26 institutions, 1968		2166	594	27.4	5014	2240	44.7	17.3

Source: Official University Publications, U.S. State Department Survey, 1969 (mimeo), and Unesco, The Development of Higher Education in Africa, 1963, pp. 147-48.

continually created in the minds of their leadership. Therefore it was not satisfaction at early fulfillment, traditional or otherwise, that motivated the response of vice-chancellors and their faculties in the African universities. It is rather a sense of unfulfillment, of consummations yet to be realized, that explains so much of the posture and the thrust of African university leadership in the sixties.

At a moment when African universities are under compulsion to assess more severely the most urgent claims on their attention and effort, it is necessary to be clear on the difficult dilemma of the sixties. This is commonly called the dilemma or crisis of relevance. There is in the first place relevance to the great international university community upon which Tananarive placed primary emphasis. Then there is in the second place relevance to a country and a society in its historic form in time and place. Of the sixties it can be said that the forces which emphasized relevance to the metropolitan academic community were more powerful, while the forces that emphasized relevance to the immediate African environment were less persuasive or powerful. The sixties ended with a swiftly rising demand for a reversal of attitudes in favor of a local relevance over an international relevance, of the African university over the metropolitan and traditional university.

THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS TRADITIONAL FORM

In discussing the nature and influence of the metropolitan and traditional university no two observers will speak with the same emphasis, or use the same illustrations. Yet there do seem to be several essential points of departure and emphasis in adjudging the influence of the traditional university, as this phrase is used in the African context. In the agreement between France and the Côte d'Ivoire on the establishment of the university at Abidjan it was stated that "the degrees and diplomas issued by the Center for Higher Education in Abidjan, under

the same conditions of programs, courses of study and examinations as corresponding French degrees and diplomas, are fully equivalent and valid within the Republic of France..." There could be no more explicit statement of the intention to secure the highest possible degree of identity or comparability between metropolitan and African university institutions.

In the discussion of metropolitan patterns of higher education, the most important is usually the least mentioned. It is the transfer of the particular structure of higher education that has resulted from the accidents and the logic of one country's history. Some of the more important consequences for African higher education need to be brought into focus. It is broadly characteristic of the British system of higher education, and in a very real measure of the French system of higher education as well, that there tends to be a significant intellectual distinction, and even physical separation between education as a liberal accomplishment and education as a preparation for a life of commercial action and industrial production. In the United Kingdom the distinction and the separation exist between the university and the major colleges of technology. In France they are even more clearly drawn between the universities and the "grandes écoles." In older societies familiarity and habits of communication enable institutions of different nature and governance to achieve an acceptable coordination of their roles in the advancement of education and in their service to the nation. In a less schooled environment, and without the linkages provided by familiarity and habit, distinction and separateness were enhanced. Strictly from the point of view of the standard university there were temporary advantages, since its claims could be put forth more singly. The outcome in Africa was a lack of coordination and a compartmentalization to which many of the problems of unbalanced development, of neglect and of confused objectives, can be traced.

At critical points in the history of the traditional university there was absent in adequate strength the habit of thinking in terms of concrete application, of responses to the condition and needs of an immediate social and economic environment. The university professed an idiom that was inadequate to the knowledge and attitudes required to equip the new world intended by independence. Historians pointed out over a generation ago that the strength of both the British and French colonial civil service in Africa was in the realm of administration, justice and social relationships, and that its weakness was in discerning the technological aspects of the problems confronting them, and in devising practical solutions. Something of this imbalance was present in the first universities, reinforced indeed by the cadre of civil servants inherited from the colonial period. The domination of the curriculum by traditional disciplines in politics and the humanities gave to the first generation of African politicians and administrators an insufficient share of the mental resources required to deal effectively with scientific and technological advance. Their attention was focused upon continuity with the past more clearly than on a future of radical change and innovation.

In the older metropolitan university there are both the fact and the atmosphere of a special relationship to society and the institutions of society in their more cultivated and advanced aspects, and equally a concern for knowledge at its most advanced levels. Such a fact and such an atmosphere transferred to a university in a less developed country, can become an impediment to accepting or clearly recognizing a relationship to society and the institutions of society in their least cultivated and least advanced aspects, or to applying the trained mind to problems as they exist at the least advanced levels.

University development was not matched or accompanied, as it was in the developed countries, by a balanced development in technical and vocational education. It is here under the best of circumstances that provision is made for the education

and training of what is called middle-level manpower. This provides in every society the supportive skills which are required to sustain and expand the effectiveness of the top level of skills in government, in industry, and the professions. The decade of the sixties reached its term with a legacy of neglect, insufficient preoccupation and underinvestment in the generation of middle level manpower. The question has clearly arisen whether a major thrust might not have to take place inside the university. A diversion of resources to other objectives in education and national development was both a threat to university development and a challenge to innovation.

Expatriate Staff

The influence in the African universities of traditional components and influences drawn from the metropolitan university systems is explained also by their dependence upon recruitment from overseas. In the beginning the dependence was almost entire. Without expatriate staff universities could not have been launched. A very considerable degree of dependence prevailed throughout the sixties. (See Table 1 above.) In spite of replacements the component of traditional and conventional thought remained high, even in African institutions of later establishment which sought to modify the characteristics of the old. It has been pointed out that the limited terms of appointment of expatriate members of staff made for refreshment by new ideas and new personalities. This is true. But the same limited terms of appointment produced discontinuity. Limited appointments qualified or discouraged enterprise, partly because many expatriate incumbents were essentially engaged in building careers for themselves elsewhere. The complaint that African universities were a nursery or pépinière from which the metropolitan universities drew their younger staff was not infrequent nor without foundation. In the

francophone university, the equivalence in rank and career expectations between professors in metropolitan and those in African universities greatly enhanced the prestige of French ideas and procedures.

Student Entrance

The manner of student entrance to the university, the nature of the curriculum, the examination system, and the role of the first degree were features of the metropolitan university that deeply affected African university development. The highly selective manner of gaining entry to the university, the dependence on a formalized examination system, and, above all, the emphasis upon the first degree as the point at which the university measures its own academic performance, together exercised a severe discipline upon the curriculum of the university. The early and more intense specialization that results from making the first degree the definitive test of accomplishment, and the close correspondence between syllabus, examination and the validity of the degree, imposed upon the curriculum a categorization of knowledge, and a compartmentalization of training that did not easily correspond with the broader and more general requirements of service and employment in a developing country. The closely interlocked relationship between entrance qualification, formal examination and a first degree based upon conditions in another society, imparted a special rigidity to the curriculum. It limited both the experimental movement of students within the curriculum, and experimentation with the curriculum itself in search of relationships and combinations more suited to the background of the student and his prospects for employment and service to his society.

The University Impact on Secondary and Primary Education

One of the most far-reaching influences of the traditional university was exercised on the pattern followed by the secondary and primary school systems. Upon these systems there were brought to bear influences corresponding at their level with those that fashioned the university. Obviously the shortcomings and failures in primary and secondary education cannot simply and directly be laid at the door of the university. Yet the prestige of the university, and its character as the most spectacular gateway to high preferment and reward, powerfully influenced thought and action in the rest of education. The centralized character of the French system of education, and the more deliberate emphasis upon assimilation, make this statement especially applicable to the francophone countries. The fact that university entrance was gained by a single examination meant that the secondary school curriculum fell directly under the domination of university requirements and of metropolitan standards. In the famous Kenya airlift of students to American universities there was the fervor of an hejira and the excitement of a gold rush. By the side of the flocking of students from all over middle Africa towards any university that would receive them, the Kenya airlift vividly illustrates the ferment that arose deep within the populations of Africa, and the movement amongst them as they sought an entrance into the new world announced by independence. It was the fact that the entrances were not many, nor wide nor easy that gave such prominence to the scholastic track that led toward the university. Of university influence upon the entire system of education the British sixth form and the French "bachot" are still the best symbols and illustrations. The controversy over the sixth form is today dusty with its own cold ashes. Yet its meaning in a review of the sixties is clear. It reveals the entry of a traditional definition of education at the university level into other areas of education. It explains the tendency of the secondary school system to adopt standards of success and failure

related to university interests and to neglect or to yield only a secondary status to education and standards less related to university entrance. The pattern of the university was powerfully reinforced and sustained, therefore, by the best and strongest of the secondary schools and their spokesmen. When later universities, as in Zambia and Malawi, were established with entrance requirements that were more permissive and more flexible, unhappiness over such a move still existed within the new university and within the leading secondary schools. Even Nsukka, deeply influenced by more flexible and permissive American standards of university entrance, found it expedient to sponsor what by British custom is termed both "A" and "O" level entrance.

There is little room to speak at length of the rigidities of curriculum and of formal examinations which were encouraged by university entrance conditions. The bottleneck established at the point of university entrance encouraged and indeed justified the existence of other bottlenecks at similar stages on the ladder of education. The bottlenecks that existed on the conspicuous and desirable track that led upward towards the university were critical points of limited success and of massive failure.[1] They indicated the appearance of scholastic futility and wastage that finally compelled the review of educational development in which the universities themselves became involved.

It seems clear that the relationship between the secondary school system and the university also encouraged and reinforced the same tendency in secondary schools to face by preference and design in the direction of the urban communities, in the direction of the modern sector, and in the direction of a limited segment of society and the national economy. In the Congo forty percent of secondary school enrollment in 1969 was concentrated in Kinshasa and Kongo Central. In effect, as some observers pointed out with telling effect in the Congo, "The educational

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[1]In 1968 an outcry was caused in the Côte d'Ivoire by the failure of 80 percent of the candidates for the formidable "baccalauréat" examination, which is the French equivalent of the sixth form.

system...defines and allocates social status."[1] After only a brief period of growth it had become a mechanism for populating the elite cadres of the new nation, and of establishing a formidable distinction between a narrow world of employment, status and influence, surrounded by another world of the unemployed and underemployed. The ability of the secondary school systems to stimulate social mobility in other directions than the university was stunted and curtailed. The appearance of success in those who wrestled their way through the bottlenecks of examinations, drew attention away from both the poor quality and the irrelevance of the education of those who remained behind. The literature both in French and in English is loud with the complaint that the sixties have bequeathed to the seventies the necessity of a major preoccupation with the curriculum, of disengagement from an unprofitable and demoralizing relationship with sectors of the economy unable to absorb its product, and finally a more fitting preoccupation with those sectors, agricultural, rural, technical, where a greater productivity and job generation can possibly take place.

In the sixties, then, the preoccupation of the university with its own establishment and its own development nonetheless affected all of education. Such perspective upon the sixties would most strongly suggest that high on the agenda of the seventies would be the need for closer integration with the rest of education and a closer concern for other objectives than those that are tributary to the university.[2] Any discussion of the relationship between the university and the

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[1]The Survey of Education in The Democratic Republic of the Congo prepared by The Overseas Liaison Committee is the most recent study in English on the Congo and the source of these references.

[2]From a great variety of reports carrying these themes the most succinct and recent is the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Sierra Leone, February 1970.

rest of the educational system becomes fully effective only if it is set against the background of economic development, of the benefit which a society draws from its educational expenditure, of the positions in employment awaiting those who have been given education and training.

THE MODERN SECTOR[1]

By the end of the sixties it was evident that integrated growth of wealth and economic opportunity with the spread of education, had been exaggerated. The assumption that western concepts and techniques of economic modernization could be made into vehicles of African advancement had only limited validity. The belief that there would be a ferment within a whole country, which would actively spread its benefits into a whole population was an illusion. The patrimony of many states, in the form of exploitable wealth, was so scanty as to be a sentence of poverty. Even where the statistics of economic growth and improvement were impressive, as they were in Nigeria, Kenya, and the Côte d'Ivoire, effective modernization took place within a narrow sector. It was a condition of the urban town, but not of the total countryside. With little exception the rate of economic growth bore an unfavorable relationship to the spread of investment into all parts of the economy, to the dispersion of income into the entire population, and the multiplication of jobs. If there is a crisis in education, its manifestations are most visible at the frontier between schooling and the world of work. These manifestations are best visible in the concentrations of population in the principal cities. African urban areas are great aggregations of people with low incomes, high rates of unemployment, gathered around an economic activity that is often sporadic, poorly articulated and slow to expand. The modern world in most African countries

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[1]The modern sector is not a precise term. It is here used to indicate the area of wage and salary employment, principally through the exercise of skills and competences that underlie the organization and productivities of modern society.

is then a vessel too small and inelastic to contain those that wish to enter it. The rewards of independence and the benefits of modernization are, thus far, a treasure too limited for wide distribution. The spending power of the nation has been caputured by a small fraction of the population. Prosperity is an island surrounded by stagnation.[1]

The judgment that the investments, the procedures and the innovations of the period under review were only partially and slowly meeting their goals led to a logical conclusion as far as education was concerned. Because the societies for which the entire system of education was devised, did not actually come into being, it was inevitable that education should fall under intense scrutiny. For the first time it became possible to see universities and education altogether in a different perspective. That universities and schools had been relevant to the societies from which they had come was clear. What was now less clear was whether they were relevant to the societies to which they had been transferred.

In the now rich and varied economic literature there is evident a long series of discrepancies and disproportions, between the increase in population and the increase in per capita wealth, between the Gross National Product and the generation of disposable investment, between employment and unemployment, between rural and urban real incomes, between soaring wages and creeping employment opportunity. These discrepancies are susceptible of expression in the greatest variety of forms, both vivid and coldly numerical. In education the major concentration was upon the facts and figures that began with enrollments and ended with entry, or the failure of entry, into the national labor force. Whatever may be the broad human and cultural rewards which men in their history have ascribed to education, in Africa the

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[1]vide passim. The Revolution That Disappeared in the Virginia Quarterly Review, Volume 46, Number 2, Spring 1970. Also, F. H. Harbison "Higher Education And Rural Development in Africa," Overseas Liaison Committee paper, June 15, 1969.

greatest emphasis was perforce placed upon the rewards in the generation of wealth, in the rise of employment and employability, in the effectiveness of education in accelerating the rate of national development. It was a sharp tool of measurement which men felt compelled to apply to the achievements of education, and from which education at no level could be spared.

In Kenya only 627,000 members of a potential labor force of over 3,800,000 found wage employment in the modern sector in 1969. Of an increase in the labor force of 627,000 estimated between 1970 and 1974, only twenty percent were likely to find wage employment in the modern sector. In Uganda, to take another series, total employment between 1962 and 1968 had risen twenty-two percent, from nearly 231,000 to nearly 282,000. Similar figures for Tanzania indicated almost unrelieved stagnation. In Ghana the wage employment prospects as calculated for the period 1965-1968 indicated a total demand of 21,000 as against a total supply of 194,000. The figures would not have to be totally correct, nor comparable amongst themselves, to underline most emphatically the universal problem of the school leaver.[1] While at its worst at the level of primary education, it crept upwards as a phenomenon causing concern, through the secondary school system, until it began to reach the university.

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[1]For a variety of valuable tables illustrating problems of manpower supply and demand especially at the university level, see Aart J. M. van de Laar: Report of an Evaluation Survey of University Level Manpower Supply and Demand in Selected African Countries. UN document (ECA) No. E/CN. 14/WP.6/32, Addis Ababa, 1970.

The University and Employment

By the end of the sixties reports and files were full of statements on the over-production or impending over-production of university students, and the growing inability of an inelastic job market to absorb the output of university graduates. The impending saturation of government employment at the top level in most categories and regions was announced for Nigeria before the civil war. Similar comments have been made for Dahomey, Niger, Ghana and the countries of East Africa. Debate on the relationship of the university to manpower requirements was confused by a failure to distinguish between the figures established by the absence of skills per se, and those figures established by effective demand as expressed in meaningful employment. Even in the same country it was possible to prove that there was an over-production of university graduates, and possible also to establish lists of unfulfilled needs requiring a university education. In Nigeria, Ghana and elsewhere pronounced shortages of doctors, dentists, engineers, qualified teachers and managerial personnel persisted throughout the period. What available experience thus far does indicate is that the university constituted along conventional lines is able to satisfy certain manpower requirements far more rapidly than was originally assumed. Most universities, in any event, were operating with the most imperfect knowledge of the location of their products in the economy, and were therefore without precise tools for measuring the relevance between their curriculum and the effective demand of the economy.

Of the absorption of university graduates in the economy several significant characteristics can be identified. The first was the pronounced flow in the direction of the modern enclave. Within the modern enclave the flow was predominately into government service. In Nigeria, for example, the government and public sectors of employment were responsible in 1966-67 for some 52 percent of the total labor force. Other figures suggest that as many as two-thirds to three-quarters of

university graduates have thus far been absorbed in public employment. Even figures which show a continuing demand for university graduates must be examined with caution. If one assumes an economic growth no greater or no more profitable than thus far has taken place, then even favorable sectors for university graduate employment have their limits and their points of relatively early saturation.

The encouragement which can be read into the statement that Kenyan graduates had waiting for them in 1967 some 7000 jobs still held by non-citizens, has less reassurance for the university than might appear on the surface. In Uganda expatriate jobs potentially available for Ugandans were under 2000 in 1967. There exists one important exception to the possibility that the flow of students may overrun effective demand for their services. This exception is in the field of education itself. Uniformly, from one country to the next, the need for teachers is high, and absolute numbers of need are made virtually higher yet by deficiencies in training.

A serious limitation on effective demand for university trained personnel, even in fields of announced shortage, is the inability of national budgets to maintain the levels of remuneration and privilege that fell to the lot of the first entrants into the modern sector. There are few exceptions to the rule that most African countries have a salary structure that does not permit the ready addition of significant numbers of employees to present establishments. The inherited colonial structure of salaries and inducements was carried to higher levels of cost by the need to attract fresh and larger cadres of expatriate personnel. Whatever allowance is made for the element of overseas subsidy, the expatriate presence both extended and reinforced the expectation that their African replacements would take over both their functions and their emoluments. In the specific area of education alone the high costs which provoked great concern were an outcome of the heavy dependence of education on expatriate personnel, and the direct linkage with metropolitan salary levels.

These are some of the factors which, toward the end of the decade, forced into the limelight questions about the number of universities, their size, their costs,[1] student-staff ratios, the range of future enrollments, and the quation between their curriculum and the requirements of national development. Government service had been a job market that did not make exacting demands on the university curriculum. It was a bounty that postponed or took the sting out of discontent with a traditional curriculum. It was the saturation of the public service that drew special attention to the curriculum.

Old hands in university life have developed some insouciance towards the periodic outcry of discrepancy between graduating classes and the job market. They have seen correction appear out of the pattern of student enrollments and through changes in the character of the job market itself. They are not readily stampeded by the figures and statistics of the moment, especially where it is possible to argue about their accuracy. But in most African countries the character of national economic development and the quite spectacular disjointure between the school system and the state of economic development make it altogether impossible for the university to take a special position of its own. It has been drawn comprehensively into the national debate on education. Nor was this an operation conducted entirely by forces outside the universities. By their own research and through their own responsiveness universities have an important standing in the forum which has the future of education under profound consideration.[2]

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[1] See Table 2 on pp. 28a and 28b.

[2] Two quantitative aspects of the employment situation in African can be illustrated by referring to data for two East African countries. In Table 3 below the general school leaver problem is shown for Kenya. The supply of school leavers far outstrips the demand for modern sector wage employment. The consequence is a return to agriculture or a craft or petty trade job and fairly likely unemployment for long periods in the cities for those searching for wage employment before they fall back on these more traditional means of livelihood.

TABLE 2. PER STUDENT PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL FOR SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, 1960'S (U.S. DOLLARS)

Country	Year	Primary and Pre-School	Second Level				Third Level
			General	Technical & Vocational	Teacher Training	Total	
Botswana	1965	15.40	266.00	630.00	513.00 1/	406.00 1/	...
	1968	22.40	213.00	...	378.00 1/	296.00 1/	2,825.00
Cameroon	1964	28.50	313.00	430.00	...	350.00	...
	1967	31.90	...	...	...	875.00	745.00 2/
Congo (B)	1964	22.10	197.00	144.00	...	182.00 3/	...
	1968	31.70	...	510.00	...	145.00 3/	1,110.00
Ethiopa	1962 4/	17.60	80.80	233.00	280.00	103.00	1,820.00
	1967 4/	22.40	73.60	254.00	327.00	90.50	...
Ghana	1969	30.60	...	398.00*	...	260.00 3/	3,800.00
Kenya	1962	22.40	260.00	375.00	415.00	289.00	3,820.00
	1965	22.40	246.00	476.00	467.00	289.00	3,330.00
Malawi	1961	13.00	...	...	...	224.00 3/	...
	1965	16.80	154.00	347.00	428.00	210.00	4,500.00
	1967	19.60	265.00	880.00	456.00	339.00	4,150.00
Senegal 4/	1962	51.80	181.00	...	1,800.00	...	...
	1965	49.40	145.00	402.00	1,400.00	219.00	250.00
Swaziland	1963	43.50	251.00	935.00	525.00	307.00	...
	1967	64.00	416.00	304.00	695.00	418.00	...

* = Estimate.
1/ 1967 figures.
2/ Universities only.
3/ Not counting tech. and voc. ed. cost per student at 2nd level.
4/ Ministry of Education only.

TABLE 2. PER STUDENT PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL FOR SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, 1960'S (U.S. DOLLARS)

Country	Year	Primary and Pre-School	Second Level				Third Level
			General	Technical & Vocational	Teacher Training	Total	
Uganda	1963	...	...	179.00	...	106.00 3/	...
	1968	29.40	...	1,070.00	...	203.00 3/	2,160.00
Zambia	1968*	35.00	...	...	...	226.00	4,335.00

* = Estimate

3/ Not counting tech. and voc. ed. cost per student at 2nd level.

Source: IBRD and Unesco, Statistical Yearbook, 1969.

Table 3. Employment Outlook for School Leavers in Kenya 1965-68

		(Thousands)
Primary school leavers	477	
Continuing in Form I (Secondary)	-131	
To the labor market or pre-employment training		
Form 4 Output		346
Continuing in Form 5 (Upper Secondary)	39.2	
To the labor market or pre-employment training	- 6.7	
Total "Educated" Supply		32.5
		378.5
Net Increase in Non-Agricultural Wage Employment	47.7	
Wastage on Wages - Labor Force (4% annually)		
Total Labor Demand	62.1	
Back to Agriculture, Craft and Petty Trade		109.8
		268.7

Source: Aart, J.M. van de Laar, Report of an Evaluation Survey of University Level Manpower Supply and Demand in Selected African Countries, UN Document (ECA) No. E/CN.14/WP.6/32, Addis Ababa, 1970, Table A.3, Annex I, pp. 3-4.

The second aspect of the employment situation, described in detail above, is the simultaneous occurrence of surpluses and shortages of high level manpower in different job categories. Table 4 illustrates this problem with data for Uganda.

Table 4. University Level Job Supply and Demand in Uganda, 1967-71

Occupation	Demand	Supply	Shortfall (-)/Surplus (+)
Physical Scientists	509	536	+ 27
Engineers	328	313	- 15
Life Scientists	199	266	+ 67
Medics, Veterinarians, Dentists	539	349	-190
Maths/Statistics	24	31	+ 7
Total Scientists	1599	1495	-104
Economists	31	77	+ 46
Teachers	284	207	- 77
Sociologists, etc.	20	35	+ 15
Lawyers	98	130	+ 32
Accountants	127	113	- 14
General Arts, etc.	727	616	-111
Total Arts/Social Sciences	1297	1182	-115
Grand Total	2896	2677	-219

Source: Ibid, Table B.5, Annex I, p. 15.

The University and a System of Education

There is an analysis of university development that can be conducted exclusively on the level of higher education, and within the framework of a university's traditional purposes in a modern society. There is however another analysis of the university in the context of the entire educational system of a society. The sixties moved slowly from the first to the second. There was a growing disinclination to accept the definition of a university as an institution standing apart from the rest of the educational structure, or connected with it by means of its own choosing and in its own specific interest. More positively the sixties saw a groping for a system of education, of which the university would be a part, endowed with linkages, invested with responsibilities that would more fully direct its attention and its powers to compelling areas of national need.

In all the stridencies of debate on educational development, and in the shocks of discouragement that arise out of statistics, there is the danger of missing or underemphasizing the constructive questions to which they point. They are questions that deal with balances and linkages within "a system" of education, with the quality of education as it affects a society at a special moment in its history, and above all with the healthiest balance between the upward academic flow of students and a diversified lateral flow into all levels of employment and productivity.

Some random quotations follow which illustrate the anxieties of national and international observers, the uncomfortable issues that confront the universities, but equally the cardinal circumstance that few of the major issues can be handled without the involvement of the university. In the summary of the most recent report on the state of education in Ghana appears the following statement. "Because of the strong relationship between an academic educational qualification and job recruitment, Ghana's students have a strong desire to follow an academic education to the highest level possible and show little interest in pratical courses that are

unrelated to entrance examinations." This is another way of saying what must be said often, that the neglect of technical and vocational education, both in their formal and informal aspects left these areas empty of the attitudes, skills and values that sustain and justify work as the tool of change, progress and real enrichment, or in another manner of speaking, left these areas full of the cultural resistance and economic conditions that impede the orderly and sustained application of mind and body to human progress. An extract from the very recent Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Sierra Leone[1] illustrates the concern with investment in education and its results in performance and developmental effectiveness. "Considering that subsidies to higher education are about of the same order of magnitude as expenditures on primary education, and the need for an increase in expenditure on technical, vocational and primary teacher training, it is clear that an attempt to adjust the growth rate of subsidies to higher education in favor of growing expenditures on technical, vocational and primary teacher training, would be in order. Furthermore although the true cost of educating a primary school leaver is relatively higher than that of someone through secondary school, yet, in the dynamic sense, the burden of higher education is relatively greater than at other levels in view of the rapid increase in the growth rate of higher educational subsidies."

A final quotation from the same useful document, in language too brief to bring out the full force of its meaning, invites the university into fuller involvement in devising a more effective system of national education. It stated that "one of the essential tasks of higher education should be to help devise ways and means of reducing wastage, and therefore, the relative cost of primary education and ultimately of secondary and higher education..." This is a clear invitation for the university to become an intrinsic part of the national educational system.

[1]op. cit. p. 30.

Informal Education

The discussion thus far has dealt with issues of formal education. This fact in itself helps to explain the neglect of informal education. The vigorous sponsorship of the institutions and procedures of formal education carried within it the assumption that they would make good the major deficiencies in the new less developed societies.

A modern and metropolitan society is rich in vehicles and agencies of instruction, and endowed with transmissible bodies of experience, that are not formal but informal. They are part of the nature of modern society itself. Any definition of the task of education in the less developed societies of the world must accept the fact that they are deficient in many of those vehicles and agencies of informal education that contribute to modernization. They do not possess adequately in the family or the traditional arts and crafts those transmissible bodies of technical and intellectual experience that are required in industrialized and developed societies. There can be no full understanding of the development of education thus far without recognizing a major oversight or a major aberration on the part of educational leadership. The oversight was not to recognize as a major issue in educational policy the absence or inadequacy in African society of the means and agencies for the informal transmission of the knowledge, attributes and attitudes that are indispensable in a modern society. The aberration was the assumption that the responsibilities borne in developed societies by informal agencies of transmission, represented by the family, commerce and industry, could be added to those of formal education. This fact at least begins to explain the excessive expectations entertained of formal education at all levels. It is more important, however, to indicate that an overestimation of the powers of formal education led to a serious and damaging underestimation of the critical need to give imaginative and forceful

attention to the manner in which informal education could be brought to bear a more effective role in the task of modernizing African societies.

It was the movement of the medieval peasant to the cities and the generations of training there in handicrafts, measurement, form, function, materials, exchange, that laid the basis for science and technology in European society, and indeed laid the basis for the university in its modern form. It was in the same manner that the movement of farmers and craftsmen to the American frontier led to the creation of the land-grant college. Even music, literature, the theater, the plastic arts had their roots in craftsmanship and the informal agencies of transmission before their adoption in the field of formal education. These statements are not merely curiosities of history. They point to one of the considerable gaps in the manner in which education was organized and conducted, also to a specific gap of critical importance in African national development. This gap is in fact a deterrent to the more effective development of formal higher education and the more effective use of its skills in national development.

The process of modernization depends upon a full cultural acceptance of the activities of work and productivity. Historically the doctrines of St. Augustine, St. Benedict or Calvin, as they bear upon work, and self-justification through productive labor, were transmitted mainly through informal channels. The cultivation of the means of informal education, and the recognition within formal education of the indispensable alliance between the two, are the indispensable base for effectiveness in both.

The conclusion to be drawn from these statements is that the area of vocational and technical education both in its informal and formal sense calls urgently for attention and thought. The area of formal technical education can be defined. Its sponsorship from the university level down through the curriculum of the secondary and primary school system can be justified. The area of informal education cannot always be precisely defined, nor can prescriptions be clearly written for it. It

is scattered in shops, offices, industry. It exists also at the lowly and untidy level where restless men feel their way into modern society. The flow of the rural population into urban areas, with all the hazards in unemployment and social dislocation, provides the same crude school that the medieval cities provided for the serfs who fled rural poverty. At this moment in Africa of appropriate and necessary concern with rural areas and populations, those who dwell within the formal system of education may have to accept the conclusion that some of the most innovative answers to their own problems must first of all be sought outside the classroom. The statement, made with increasing force and effectiveness, that the universities were insufficiently preoccupied in teaching, analysis and research with the preponderant traditional and rural sector must be supplemented by a further remark. In their almost exclusive preoccupation with the elite component of the modern sector the universities had almost no focus whatever upon the fact that there was a social mobility and a search for modernization within the modern sector itself. At its base, the most ramshackle town is still a potent instrument of modernization. The absence of research, analysis and innovative experiment in the area of informal education, both rural and urban, would seem to be an urgent item for the agenda of the seventies. Preoccupation with a standard student population made it difficult for the university to develop more than a marginal interest in the student population contained in the adult labor force itself.[1] The upgrading of those already in employment has come to be a respected educational responsibility in advanced countries. In an underdeveloped country it has an urgency that entitles it to an even higher level of urgency and attention.

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[1]The establishment of a Continuation Center at Nsukka, open to peasant farmers, petty traders and the like, was an imaginative piece of innovation in this area.

EXPERIMENT AND INNOVATION WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

One must now turn to the manner in which the universities themselves recognized the issues by which they were confronted, and the steps which they variously took to deal with them. In the interpretation offered in this paper a number of these issues can be recapitulated. The first is an adjustment in the balance between the national and the international relevance of the university. African universities started off as conservative bodies in societies that needed innovation above everything else. It was accordingly most meaningful that by the end of the sixties the university systems of the metropolitan countries themselves were no longer exempt from the strictest examination of their social and political role, of the manner in which their intellectual activities affected the major interests of their own societies. In the metropolitan as well as the developing world, the key words today are involvement rather than independence, relevance rather than withdrawal. Both French and British universities are being moved by their own critics, into those major reforms and adjustments which flow from the conviction that universities cannot be simply compared in terms of a common international excellence, but must also be compared in terms of a diverse response to time, place and circumstance. The most mature academic judgment sees the university as an institution that has to work in an atmosphere of basic domestic consent and cooperation at the risk of its own independence and freedom.

The hard facts of continued dependence upon foreign financial assistance and above all upon staffing make the manner and the form of establishing a realistic balance between the university as a national and as an international institution, a difficult undertaking. Difficult for all institutions, it would seem to be most difficult for the francophone institutions. The manner and form of disengagement and reconstitution are strictly matters for African definition and decision. Yet it would be unhelpful not to point out, even today, the power in influence and

persuasion that is consciously and unconsciously sought and won by the provision of subsidies or recruits, and the existence in most metropolitan literature of a combined sense of intellectual and academic patronage, which itself is a form of authority, and reveals the persistence of a client relationship beyond independence, an implicit qualification of autonomy and a withholding of full initiative. Of the charges upon the seventies few can be more important than the elaboration of a more uncontrolled strategy of university development, at the point where universities meet their supporting governments, at the point where they meet one another, and at the point where they become part of the system of national education.

It has been a relatively simple task to describe the criticisms that focus upon the universities and their performance. It is much less easy to evaluate the criticisms, especially those provoked by circumstances over which the university has no control and for which often an effective response was beyond their powers. Throughout almost the entire period, when they were preoccupied with the normal problems of establishing themselves, they were additionally harried by a stream of proposals and pressures for further expansion, for change, and for reform. An essential part of the evaluation of the criticism and controversy surrounding the nature and function of the university is the account of their own reaction to the pressures and criticisms that bore upon them. Such an account serves two purposes. The first is to do justice to the very considerable body of change and adjustment that had either taken place at the end of the sixties or that was clearly in contemplation. There is little exaggeration possible in the statement that one cannot identify any major area of criticism to which the universities in one form or another have not tried to provide a response. The second is to raise the question to which the sixties were not able to provide any clear answer. In their now unmistakable movement towards becoming national institutions, with a shape, function and performance governed by the nature of their own environment, have the African

universities individually or collectively demonstrated a capacity of carrying forward such a movement by means internal to themselves, and of their own devising? Or alternatively must the engine of change and adjustment be fueled with power added and provided by the authority of the State? The sixties raised these questions in the clearest form. Thus far however the answer or answers are far from clear.

That the universities have not moved easily and painlessly from their foundation in response to criticism and challenge is true. But they moved, not uniformly, not at the same time, and not with equal willingness. There was progress in achieving balance between cultural and functional objectives. The university as a place for academic specialization, for an undirected pursuit of knowledge and its unchallenged expression, sought increasing room for a role and design directly and functionally related to jobs, the process of production and the generation of wealth.

The universities have clearly begun to accept an explicit and intentional, as opposed to an implicit or incidental role in the immediate task of national development. There is a more sincere effort to do honor to the concept of relevance to an environment still greatly lacking in literacy, science, a distribution of modern skills, and habits that underlie productivity and accept innovation. Such charges bring pressure on the universities to modify the three forms of status to which they so readily succeeded -- their position as an enclave within the limited modern sector, the recruitment of a student body increasingly favored by socio-economic forces, and the emphasis only upon standard fields of learning leading to the standard professions. Such effort measures also the progress of the universities

toward assuming shapes and functions that are adequate and responsive to their own time and their own place, without concern for invidious comparisons or labels of secondariness.[1]

As the sixties advanced there became increasingly noticeable an opening of the university frontier towards the broader terrain of higher education, or in the language of the labor market, towards a concern with the development of middle level manpower. This can be described as a movement from a distinctive and exclusively degree-oriented university in the direction of a more flexible and diversified curriculum, more permissive conditions of student recruitment.

The University of Kumasi, to supply one illustration, not merely expressed more forthrightly its orientation towards national development, but moved from a willingness to offer certain diploma courses on a temporary basis, to a more strongly expressed willingness to incorporate a considerable number of such diploma courses with a technological emphasis in the standard curriculum in the university. The development plans at the University of Ife indicate, at one and the same time, a concern for developing technical middle-level manpower within the university, and a formally expressed willingness to assume a responsible guiding role in the promotion of such education outside the university. The University of Ife also is amongst the institutions which are most boldly seeking to develop curriculum and research that bear directly on economic development.

Ahmadu Bello, in the northern Nigerian region, now has assumed responsibility for over a dozen non-university institutions in education, agriculture, legal practice and medical care. Similar trends can be identified at the University of the Cameroon, and indeed the strongest likelihood exists that new university formation

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[1]The eclipse of Nsukka was a national tragedy. A large part of the tragedy was the cessation of an experimental attitude to just such changes which was a provocative incentive to change in other institutions.

in francophone Africa, if it takes place, will seek the diversity and flexibility that favor economic development. Plans for the development of higher education in Dahomey issued at the end of 1968, indicate the emergence in the francophone countries of the same conviction that the university should in the first place be concerned with the requirements of national development. These plans, still on paper, emphasize the following manpower needs; agricultural engineers and technicians, development engineers, secondary school teachers and adult education.

The adoption of the "umbrella concept" for the University of Zambia was the clearest acceptance of the concept of devising de novo a system of higher education, rather than of establishing a single and separate university of the conventional form. The University of Zambia also undertook to forswear the limited and specialized contact with the secondary school system provided by the sixth form. Thus in principle it accepted a responsibility for the broader area of higher education, and also accepted a fuller frontage with the secondary school system. The proposals made on behalf of Zambia for a broader and more permissive design for a university in a developing country provide a special context in which questions arising in most other African countries can be discussed. Those who framed the design for the University of Zambia intended to produce a radical and progressive design for an institution adapted to a developing country. Zambia is an experiment in progress, a contribution to the dialogue on the form of the African university.[1]

Agriculture

One of the clearest signs of the university quest for effectiveness in national development is seen in the well nigh universal eagerness to establish colleges of agriculture. One of the strong reasons put forward for the formation of three separate universities in East Africa was that this would treble the means of

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[1]For an even more forthright expression of these progressive ideas the Report of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi, Education for Development, submitted to the Agency for International Development in April 1964, is a useful source.

education and training in agriculture. Before the Civil War in Nigeria it seemed certain that three other institutions, beyond Ahmadu Bello, would strengthen their role in the field of veterinary medicine. It was a notable diversion of interest and concern from the modern sector to the great rural countryside, its people and their productivity.

Teacher Education

In similar fashion there is a notable recognition of the high priority of teacher training through the establishment of departments or colleges in teacher education. The creation of Institutes of Education as a special avenue for consultation with the Ministry of Education and the teaching profession set one part of the university on the road to developing a relationship with its environment that gives meaning to the word relevance. The numerous comments, in both the francophone and anglophone countries, of teacher shortages, low levels of qualification, and curricular inadequacies, establish both the wisdom of giving a special priority to teacher education, but also the distance at which most universities still stand from a full engagement with the school system. One can only react with sympathy to the efforts made in a country like Tanzania to use special inducements to divert university graduates into the teaching profession. The ability to conduct research on the university level, to develop curricula related to social background and career prospects, to set the school in an effective national context - these depend upon the intellectual and professional endowment of principals and their staffs. It depends also on the acceptance by both the schoolmaster and the community of his role in guidance and innovation. It is through the training of teachers and the curricula devised for their use that lies one of the roads into rural Africa, that is to say in the direction of making it more productive materially and more rewarding socially. Of the obstacles to the most effective employment of the role of teacher education, the most difficult may lie in the rigidities, the

compartmentalization, of the university curriculum itself. The establishment within the standard university of major and development oriented fields like agriculture, teacher education, architecture, to name a few, depends for much of its success upon flexible access to the humanities, the sciences and the social science. A development oriented university fares best when the exclusiveness of the classic curriculum opens to provide access to the needs of a total student body.

Social Science Research

The establishment of social science research institutes in at least ten universities, and, once again, with provision normally made for government participation, affords yet another illustration of an effort to organize and direct resources that can be best assembled in a university, and related, either broadly or specifically to problems of development.

African Studies

The growth of African Studies programs in most universities had an obviousness that led to their early incorporation into the curriculum. This was an indispensable first step towards organizing and emphasizing a body of knowledge and experience on the basis of which an emergent African leadership could act with a proper sense of assurance, familiarity and integrity in its own affairs. It can be conceded that the placement of an undisputed African Studies program by the side of the conventional disciplines was the swiftest and most effective way to execute the mandate to give academic status to the content of African life. Yet even African Studies raises the question whether the rigidities of the conventional curriculum with its proprietary attitude to specialized disciplines has not been responsible, in more than one instance, for leading the university to modify the curriculum by expensive and external additions to it, rather than by dealing with the slow and sometimes reluctant ferment within it. If, at this moment, a principal goal of the

African university is service in the interest of its immediate society then a total interdisciplinary posture towards the major requirements of national development is even more important than the dedication of a single academic unit.

Research

In the period of the sixties there were few areas more beset by confusion, contradiction and misconception than the area of research. The decade moved from a reluctance and even begrudging attitude towards research in the African universities to a recognition that it was only through a clarification and endorsement of at least certain types of research that the universities could become more effectively relevant to the needs of their societies. There were three principal reasons why the cause of research in the African universities was in the beginning treated with restraint by most metropolitan educational leaders and donors. The first was the view that an undergraduate population was the first and indispensable foundation of any university. In the early universities the claims of research were accordingly not examined or met in any planful fashion. To some it seemed reasonable to argue that for a while at least both research and the training of researchers could more economically remain an international or metropolitan responsibility. Another reason for delay and uncertainity in seeing clearly the issues of research development was the historical accident that the introduction of organized research facilities actually preceded the introduction of universities themselves. In both East Africa and West Africa, for example, there was already in existence under the colonial regimes a number of research stations, some of which enjoyed and deserved an international reputation for the quality of their work. In the formation of the early universities the fact that government and university had to have a shared apparatus for the conduct of research was almost totally

ignored. Most organized research was left under the control of government departments.[1] Within both academic and governmental circles there was an

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[1]It is difficult to determine the precise number of research institutes, stations, centers and departments and even more so the nature of their control. In all areas but the social sciences, however, the governments clearly maintain the lead in research control and support. Table 5(below) is a summary of the information contained in a directory published by the U.S. African Studies Association. With its interest directed primarily to the humanities and social sciences and to more formal academic institutions, the ASA survey still showed that there were more non-university than university research institutions.

Table 5. Studies Centers and Research Institutions in Middle Africa about 1967[1], ASA Directory

Affiliation	Number
University	48
Non-University	58
Total	106

1) In several cases, universities with separate research units were double or triple counted; while in the case of non-university institutions, counting based on addresses may have led to understatement of the number of separate research units involved. Source: "A Directory of Studies Centers and Research Institutes Abroad: Africa," Research Liaison Committee, African Studies Association, New York, 1967 (mimeo).

A geographically more limited survey done by the East African Academy yields a perhaps truer picture of the academic/non-academic research institution situation. Though more categories are included, the ratio between publicly based and academically based research institutions in 1965 appeared to be about 3 to 1.

Table 6. Institutions performing Research Services in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda about 1965[1], East African Academy

Scope	Type of Affiliation			
	Public	Academic	Private	Commercial
Regional	26	29[1]	4	10
National	65	1	5	4
Total	91	30	9	14

1) Including most departments at the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. Source: Research Services in East Africa, East African Academy, Nairobi, 1966.

anachronistic belief, that the activity of research fell naturally and necessarily into the two separate compartments of pure and of applied research. For the young African universities this was a most unhappy intellectual aberration. A semantic distinction was institutionalized and became a damnosa haereditas of which the seventies must seek to purge itself. Goethe's phrase, "Thought is the thought of action, and action is the action of thought," has a special meaning for young and developing countries. The role of research in World War II made it most abundantly clear that a major task of the peacetime world was to devise, intellectually, institutionally and programmatically a closer and more deeply relevant relationship between thought and the manner in which it is made useful to man. Nowhere can this statement be made with more force than in societies too little touched by science and the analytical mind. Thus it could happen that what today is seen as an urgent problem was passed over without serious review at a moment when a creative and insightful refashioning of an essential relationship had the greatest chance of

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Finally, this relationship is supported in Table 7, which summarizes the results of a 1966 Economic Commission for Africa (UNESCO) survey. The ratio of public to university institutions is about 2.4:1 in this survey but is probably again an understatement because separate listings for university departments or faculties and research centers were counted separately.

Table 7. Institutions with Scientific Research Functions in 30 Middle African Countries about 1966[1]: ECA

Affiliation	Number
Public	349
University	146
Private	35
Unknown	21
Total	551

1) Information on definitions and details of these tables is available on request. Source: ECA (UNESCO), Scientific Research in Africa: National Policies, Research Institutions, Belgium, 1966 (No. NS.65/D.39/A).

acceptance. Most unhappily a committee containing distinguished academics and officials appointed in 1961 to make recommendations on the future of research in East Africa advised on the retention of the status quo, advancing the reason that a university could not be properly engaged in applied or practical research. Not merely was a notable opportunity lost but a distinction was reaffirmed that actually widened the gulf between university and government departments. In the francophone countries the phenomenon of powerful research establishments, insufficiently linked with the universities, was enhanced by far closer linkages with Paris.

Africa had inherited an arrangement that was financially costly in the first place. It weakened the intellectual community by dividing it. It diminished the reinforcement and inspiration which research derives from a close and organic connection with the broader community of scholars. It encouraged officials in their view that the university communities were not interested in problems of national growth and development. It engendered frustration in the university communities as they began more clearly to see and to accept for themselves a role in research directed to the pressing problems of national development. Academic frustration and government criticism were both justified, and account for some of the exasperation that sometimes marked relations between university and government.

Recognition of the need to establish effective linkages between the sectors of the intellectual community engaged in development research is not lacking. Devices such as advisory groups are important improvements. There are others. The furtherance of a system of research activities, which makes effective use of the existence and the nature of the university, is high on any list of priorities.

It is within most African colleges of agriculture that it is possible to recognize the urgent need to deal more effectively with the quite indispensable relationship between the devising of effective practice through research, the indoctrination of effective principles through education, and the training in

effective application through extension. The university alone permits putting the fullest degree of emphasis upon the triune character of teaching, research and extension. Of the reasons for regretting the misfortune that befell Nsukka one of the greatest was the eclipse of the most striking effort of that day to advance the cause of the closest and most organic linkage between the three continuous activities. Where the argument in favor of research as a principal agent of development is as convincing as it is in agriculture, and in the related requirements of an agricultural society, it must follow that neither the government nor the university can afford to leave unexplored the means of bringing about a greater degree of communication, of continuity and interdependence between the laboratory, the classroom and the field, lest the price be a lower level of achievement for each.

Out of habit and a deep academic instinct the universities had battled from the beginning against the effort to postpone the development of research, to limit it or even to discriminate in favor of parts of it. For the most part members of the faculties came from metropolitan institutions that permitted, encouraged and rewarded research along the entire academic front. For many expatriate members of staff any moratorium on research was seen as a handicap to professional advancement. The irrepressible urge of any modern university community to engage in research was one of the most powerful forces driving the university towards further expansion and diversification.

At the end of the sixties both universities and governments faced a difficult dilemma. The rate and extent of university development had raised the most serious questions of cost and the allocation of scarce resources. On the other hand it had become plain that the role of research in national development had been insufficiently recognized and supported. In the realm of investigation, analysis and research the experience of the sixties and by projection the issues to be faced in the seventies can be clearly stated. It must be accepted as inevitable that such

research must have a program and a structure related to the major goals of national development. It must also be clear that such research and analysis must be based in African countries, conducted by African scholars and scientists working on problems and advancing solutions drawn out of the African environment. The expatriate mind, deeply aware of past mistakes, is now more alert to the proposition that there must be the most native intimate symbiosis between African education and its own environment. Yet in the area of research it is still in danger of introducing, in the name of science, still more conventional and traditional wisdom into the African environment. If, in the period to come, the African universities succeed in expanding into important areas of research affecting national development, there is a lesson of the sixties that should be carefully considered. The necessity and the temptation to advance the cause of research by importing metropolitan scientific and analytical talent should be strongly qualified by the higher priority that must be given to the elaboration of institutional and intellectual research competence by the Africans themselves.

Whatever the mature historical judgment may be of the foundation years, the preponderant influence of professional educators, scholars and experts from outside Africa is an established fact. The analysis and criticism of these years is an analysis and criticism of that influence. Implicit in every appointment, and dissolved in the stream of foundation and agency grants, was a cargo of evaluations and judgments, even decisions, that had to be accepted. Foundations, government agencies and groups of academics sometimes fell into the trap of believing that the eagerness to receive their grants was also an endorsement of their wisdom, and an equal eagerness to accept their ideas. They had delusions of adequacy in proportion to their access to money or political clout. The emphasis upon a strategy of research development in Africa is an emphasis upon the need to impose restraints upon the export of evaluations, judgments and decisions in favor of deductions from within an indigenous province and, to use Machiavelli's phrase, by the provincials themselves. This will not be easy.

In the universities there has been a movement, however unevenly, towards research more directly related to national development. In both the anglophone and francophone institutions it was possible, at the end of the decade, to discern a significant number of "growth points" capable of serving as parts of an intrastructure for development oriented research. These "growth points" have been mentioned. They are briefly, once again, the colleges of agriculture, and of veterinary medicine. They include the institutes of education, and of social and economic research. There exists no map of these "growth points" in development oriented research. Even in individual countries they may not be sufficiently known or understood by government departments. There are exceptions which serve to prove the rule that the area of research is marked by dislocation, costly competitiveness, with some of it seized in frustration. Veterinary medicine at Zaria and the University of Nairobi seem to be two excellent examples of effective coordination between academic performance and the public interest in research directed to the improvement of a natural resource. The Department of Housing and Planning Research at Kumasi is a modest but convincing illustration of development oriented research with an effectiveness that is at the same time the result of government support and the ability to draw upon a variety of university resources.

The charge upon the seventies is heavy, with all the urgency of rearranging priorities, initiating fresh programs, reallocating resources and effecting institutional coordination. The lesson that a succeeding generation needs to learn from the foundation years is that no major program of action can afford to ignore or try drastically to compress the component of historical time. In an African environment one of the most unsettling exports from the western metropolitan world has been the compression of major decisions into limited periods of time. If the threat of ecological disaster is serious, it is clearly the outcome of the habit of the western mind of estimating success or failure, profit or loss, in

periods of time so short, that the real future goes unheeded. All who deal with problems of African educational development in the ensuing period must learn, arduously with determination and inventiveness, a habit of analysis and decision-making in more extended periods of historical time. This is one of the important explanations why the agencies of analysis, of decision-making, why donor agencies like government departments and foundations, subject to the discipline of annual appropriations and short-term goals failed to do justice to the need for long-term perspectives in African society. This too is a principal justification for making every effort to place these responsibilities more effectively in African hands. The heavy pressures and conflicting demands so powerfully in evidence at the end of the decade describe some of the most difficult problems of the future. In what manner can the ideal of international standing based upon high standards of excellence elaborated in metropolitan societies be reconciled with the demand that the universities respond willingly and with a minimum of reservation to demands arising within their underdeveloped societies? In what manner can universities, in a period of reluctant revenues reach upward to meet the responsibilities of research and yet downwards also in order to train cadres of supportive and middle-level manpower? In what manner can universities face the modern sector of their societies, and at the same time respond to the unmodern rural sector as well?

THE UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT

As universities seek in various ways to broaden their responsibilities, and especially if they do so in the name of national development, they move into areas both of governmental interest and direct governmental responsibility. By so doing they raise the involved issues of governance, of effective linkages with the agencies of government, of the nature of possible academic concordats, which establish the agreements and procedures of a system of education in each country. As universities accept or undertake to accept a fuller responsibility for the supply

of teachers, for contributions to curriculum building, for agriculture, for development oriented research, the formless, or erractic or unresolved character of their linkages with governments compels attention.

Because education is in the full center of African political debate, and because the universities are without exception confronted with a demand for their articulation with the goals of national development, it is impossible to discuss the issue of governmental relations without mention of controversy, misunderstanding, and quarrel. Out of timidity, or a respect for the phenomenon of political independence, the academics of the sixties tiptoed around controversial issues involving the claims or the attitudes of governments. Thomas Balogh described this as an "uncritical and ultra-polite acceptance of whatever (emerges) as a consequence of the administrative, educational and socio-economic failing of the defunct imperial systems."[1] The words are harsh, yet it was only from their metropolitan colleagues that the universities, while they were still expatriate enclaves, could receive guidance and admonition in an issue that did not profit from neglect. They were not always well served.

In their first form the universities held intellectual attitudes, and followed rules of academic procedure, that separated them from some of the most important realities of their environment. The need to be related to the world of action and application as the most powerful and dignified ally of government was confused by false arguments about academic standards and intellectual detachment. They were slow to understand how urgent was the dependence of untried governments upon them. They entertained the false and damaging assumption that such a relationship could be a threat to freedom and autonomy. In the traditionally formulated charters little attention was paid to creating effective mechanisms for communications and

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[1]René Dumont: False Start in Africa, 1965. Introduction by T. Balogh, p. 7.

cooperation with government. The first and major institutions even suffered from a surprising unawareness of their own roots in history. The history of British and French higher education is actually marked by the intervention of the State in the structure and purposes of the university. This intervention varies from the deliberate coercion of the period of the Reformation to the more decorous persuasiveness of a modern Royal Commission. It is true that in a metropolitan society the balance between university autonomy and academic freedom on the one side, and public and national accountability on the other has grown to be customary, familiar, and therefore diffuse. The experience of the sixties makes it plain that this relationship in a young and developing country had to be given a far more precise definition. The neglect or misjudgment or insufficiency in defining clearly social responsibility and national accountability in the discussions that produced the first statutes and charters produced an area of doubt and controversy that at the end of the decade still existed, and had become a matter of grave concern. In any society the performance of the educational system, and of the universities in particular, is a matter of national concern. In Africa this concern is so directly and inextricably involved in major issues of national policy, that it acquires a prominence unknown in older societies. Whereas in older countries like France or the United Kingdom there are periods when universities and higher education are a major preoccupation of both government and legislatures, in Africa this preoccupation is constant and extended. For this reason the relationship between the African university and government requires a clarification, a formulation, and finally an implementation which traditional institutions in older countries might claim to find embarrassing and dangerous.

Few universities indeed enjoyed the assurance of continuity, either within themselves or in their external relations. The result was uncertainty, vacillation and loss in contact. Government leadership shifted, sometimes violently.

Ministers of especial importance for the universities changed, as did also the key members of their staffs. Reports and recommendations on major issues were shelved or superseded. One response certainly to the statement that universities and their governments had only imperfect success in reaching a common ground of discourse and cooperation is that the obstacles against the most earnest efforts were always considerable. At the beginning of the period there was certainly an important contrast between a relatively inexperienced native leadership in government, and a more experienced expatriate leadership in the universities. In spite of brilliant exceptions like Léopold Senghor, a less well-trained political leadership found it difficult not to be anti-intellectual, especially when the rules of university conduct were laid down ex cathedra by expatriate academics, or indeed by African academics whose training abroad had produced a degree of cultural alienation from their own society.

From within government the university could be seen as at the same time an indispensable ally in the government task of modernizing a backward society, and as a critic and opponent. There was both an alliance and a confrontation. African political leaders whose intellectual formation had taken place either abroad or under predominantly metropolitan influence, were initially more disposed to accept the university as it presented itself. Their attitude was reinforced by the presence within government of expatriate bureaucrats, advisors and technicians. Africanization proceeded more rapidly in government at all levels than it did in the universities. The first implicit cooperation between "alien" and "native" metropolitans was modified by a growing difference between a government that was predominantly African and universities that were still predominantly expatriate. When disagreement and dissatisfaction on the side of government finally appeared, they faced the power of traditional practices formulated by expatriates. Through inexperience, lack of experiment and analysis, government criticism of the traditional university

system was at a disadvantage. Continued dependence upon metropolitan institutions for recruitment and for the training of African scholars created a powerful axis between the African and the metropolitan university systems. The body of Vice-Chancellors had a more intimate colleagueship with their metropolitan peers than even amongst themselves. Thus canons of success and performance were expressed and justified in forums external to Africa.

It was especially difficult for African leadership to understand and in the final analysis to accept the essential dualism of any university in Africa or elsewhere. Into the lifestream of the new African universities there entered the two functions that mark most of the institutions of the metropolitan western world in Europe as well as in the North American continent. In the metropolitan western world the university is an instrument of conservation, and an instrument of liberalization. It recruits and trains for an existing leadership. Thus it tends to reinforce a particular social and economic structure. But the modern university is also a critic of the ordering of its society. It has an innovative and mobilizing role. According to time and place and circumstance these dual roles may be performed without challenge. Or they may provoke challenge and criticism. The entire issue of relevance involved at the same time the role of the university as the principal ally of government policy, and as its principal analyst and critic.

The immediate closeness of university and government in the intimate modern sector led governments to see and to emphasize more clearly the role of the university in maintaining a given political structure and social order. The growing persuasion in most African countries that the stability of government is more important than the manner in which it is constituted caused political leadership to look with concern at the latent power of the university to set in motion the forces of political upheaval. Having provided government and the modern sector with their first cadres of trained personnel, the universities, more rapidly than had been

expected, were in a position to launch into the modern sector new cohorts of ambitious young men, of job seekers, and candidates to office. Significant diversion of university graduates into commerce and industry was not feasible. Government was the prime employer. It is against the prime employer that joblessness and restricted opportunity tend to direct their distress and dissatisfaction. Student unrest in African universities has rarely been as serious as in France, Great Britain or the United States. Yet with less provocation than appeared in Paris, Columbia, Berkeley or Wisconsin, African governments as a rule were quicker to voice their concern and seek the means of constraint.

The universities which have been free of student unrest are in the minority. Few outbreaks of unrest perhaps equal the complexity of events at Dakar in 1968, events made all the more grave by the unusually sincere acceptance of the idea of the university by the President of the Republic. Yet Khartoum, Dar es Salaam, Haile Sellassie I University and Lovanium are all included in the catalog of academic centers where student unrest has provoked vigorous governmental reaction.[1] It is in East Africa, rather than in West Africa, that one can find the best illustration of a strong exercise of governmental influence in the affairs of universities. The establishment of three separate national universities, formally consummated in 1970, conveys the clear meaning that each country had finally decided to have its own university for its own national ends. The final political agreement to dissolve the commonly shared federal university had three major causes. The first was the desire, strongly felt in each capital, to deal with the aloofness, detachment, and more specifically the claims to autonomy of the federal university. This might be called the problem of academic and political distance.

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[1]The latest illustrations are the impressment of students at Lovanium in the Army as a measure of government discipline, and the closing of the University of Dar es Salaam.

The second was the desire to deal with the problem of administrative distance. This clearly was the desire to be freed of the delays, the confusion, and the circumlocution resulting from dealing with a federal university which itself had been unable to devise effective means of communication and cooperation between its constituent colleges.

The resolve to deal firmly with problems of academic, political and administrative distance is most apparent in pronouncements and actions from within the ranks of government and officialdom. In the initial bill which establishes the new Makerere University in Uganda, the powers of government to deal with university affairs have been emphatically and notably enhanced. The initial bill establishing the new university for Uganda was preceded by a report to the Uganda government by the Visitation Committee to Makerere in which the definition of the role of a university in the developing society of Uganda is set down with unusual forthrightness. The quotations drawn from the report should be measured less for accuracy or tempered evaluation, than for the most vigorous and overt expression of the conviction that there must be conformity between national policy and university performance. The new university "must not be an institution where intellectuals can indulge in all sorts of pursuits regardless of the wishes and needs of society...It must be a university of the people of Uganda." The new university "must totally identify itself with the aims of society, and must play its full part in meeting these goals." The report makes it plain that in the view of the Visitation Committee, not merely must the State participate in the affairs of the university, but it must be ready to intervene directly in order to secure compliance to its policies. The report is entirely explicit in rejecting the concept that academic freedom can be interpreted as freedom from government control. "We are satisfied that the standards of a university are judged not by the extent to which it can meet the demands of international competition for purely academic pursuits, but by the degree to which its

products can contribute to the common endeavor to serve the State and answer national problems." In vigorous and forceful language it disposes of the dilemma between national and international relevance by placing the former firmly and authoritatively at the topmost level of priority and concern.

The Report of the Visitation Committee has no statutory effect. Its value in the wider African context lies principally in the most explicit expression of the extent of dissatisfaction and suspicion that elsewhere have sometimes lain between university and government. Its value in a tempered discussion of university policies and trends is limited by that very fact. The harsh indictment of the traditional university and its dramatic insistence on state control draw attention away from the real question of interest throughout Africa. When the state through its government addresses itself to the main issues of educational development what are the principal points of emphasis, and how are the questions that beset almost every other country answered? The much clearer trend of events in Tanzania, the more reflective discussion of educational issues at all levels, the more purposeful search for organization and pattern -- these factors raise Tanzania to a level of considerable interest and importance. That Tanzania will in various ways have considerable influence can be taken for granted.

The fact that the university at Dar es Salaam from its inception carried a measure of protest against the more traditional pattern of Makerere, in part explains the development of the relationship between university and government. An early collision between Julius Nyerere and the College over student discipline focused acute attention on the role of university education in the advancement of national policy. Education for Self Reliance and the Arusha Declaration can be controversially debated. But they establish a framework of great interest in clarifying the broad issue of relevance in African development. Tanzania has undertaken to effect a degree of disengagement from modernization as represented

by metropolitan societies. It aims at an elimination as far as possible of the economic and social distinction between an elite modern sector and a traditional rural sector. It places the influence of the State behind efforts to achieve goals and to correct defects that are under discussion throughout Africa. Amongst these are rural transformation, informal education, technical education, and a more egalitarian society. For the academic observer there are two areas of interest. There has taken place a formulation of national policy drawn purposely from the nature of the country itself, from its soil and climate, from the actual cultural, social and economic condition of its population. From such a policy are deduced the organization and goals of education at all levels. There is probably no country in which the effort has been so planfully made to draw logical conclusions from the great body of observations and criticisms on the outcome of the developmental efforts of the sixties.

In the enunciation of a national policy on education the goal was to maintain a rural orientation for primary education, which would also have the additional effect of lessening the emphasis upon success or failure in entering secondary education. In secondary education a principal emphasis is laid upon opening up avenues of entry into employment directly from the secondary schools.

For the university one consequence is a shift in orientation from the elitest modern sector towards a more egalitarian social and economic structure. The most important consequence by far is the incorporation of the university within a system of education, and the provision, in principle at least, of linkages and relationships, lacking at an earlier stage. There is implicit a disengagement from the categories of the metropolitan university curriculum. There is an adjustment of costs, partly through a reduction in salaries, away from international levels, to proportions more logically related to the realities of the Tanzanian economy. From within the university the efforts made to respond to such a clear formulation of

national policy have not been lacking in a voluntary and spontaneous character. Thus far developments in Tanzania merit wide attention as an illustration of a deliberate program of putting university education in the services of social and economic development. Equally deserving of close attention is the entry of a political party into the educational process. The University began its existence in a TANU building. The introduction of courses in national education into the curriculum of teacher training colleges, of compulsory development studies into the university curriculum, the control over the composition of the student body, and the institution of a period of national service for its students--these facts bring attention back to the manner in which the issue of national relevance is settled, by what means of voluntary and negotiated adjustment, by what imposition of para-statal characteristics, by what insistence on ideological conformity?

RENVOI

In an interpretative account which starts from the basis of a profound conviction of the indispensable role of the university, but which then dares to discuss universities in their relationship to education in a variety of countries, there are all the dangers of degrees of emphasis, of omissions and the faults of distant perspective. To summarize what has been both discursive and illustrative would be tedious.

It would be best to end on a simple note, clearly struck by the Tanzanian Act establishing the new university. Many of the problems of costs and the national effectiveness of education, many of the issues of neglect and imbalance, are closely connected with dislocation and lack of coordination in the total realm of education. The university was an institution with insufficient linkings with government, with the rest of education, with the major imperatives of national development. Separations which could be endured in the metropolis became a damaging compartmentalization of jurisdictions, drawn into collision or driven apart by competition

or possessiveness. Out of such dislocations and divided jurisdictions arose some of the most serious criticisms. The accusation that the universities were too little concerned with development and productivity finds some of its explanation in the fact that some of the best instruments were not in their hands.

In the territory that has been traversed in a long essay there is no pattern that is clear or correct or inevitable. African universities stand on a line that goes from a conviction that the university can achieve an acceptable level of adjustment, innovation and relevance in its own environment by means internal to itself, securing support from without but without enduring a mandate from without. Or the same result may be achieved by the exercise of the authority of the state in setting up the form of education which it considers best suited to the national interest. Between the two extreme points lies a range of alternatives and approximations. There lies encouragement and reassurance, and the room for debate and varied decision.